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The paper investigates the major economic and sociological factors influencing education systems in the rural South. A review of the significant economic factors reveals the overall lack of industrial capital in the area. Sociologically, the dual cultural systems of the Negro and white populations are pointed out as the most important feature of southern states. Various aspects of the interrelation of these two factors, such as the impact of segregation on the southern economy, are examined. In his conclusions, the author discusses possibilities for the alleviation of poverty in the South, based upon the elimination of racial segregation. An appendix containing the section on "The Nonmetropolitan South" from the Coleman-Campbell report on "Equality of Educational Opportunity" is included. (JM)

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ECONOMIC AND SOCIOLOGICAL FACTORS AFFECTING EDUCATION SYSTEMS IN THE RURAL SOUTH

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Introduction

This paper considers major economic and sociological factors affecting education systems in the rural South and their impact on those systems. It also suggests some ways of possibly alleviating a number of the problems associated with or resulting from the impact of these economic and sociological factors.

The United States Bureau of the Census divides the South into South Atlantic, East South Central, and West South Central regions. For purposes of this paper, these regions are largely ignored, and the area of focal interest may be defined as those states of the former Confederacy which lie east of the Mississippi River. The choice is arbitrary. Border states such as West Virginia and Kentucky and states lying west of the Mississippi River such as Arkansas and Oklahoma share much in common with the selected states but are excluded from specific consideration. The states selected are all included by the Bureau of the Census in one or another of the three areas of the South designated above, but not all of the states included by the Bureau in any one of these three regions are included here. Listed alphabetially, those nine states which are included are the following:

Alabama
Florida
Georgia
Louisiana
Mississippi
North Carolina
South Carolina
Tennessee
Virginia

All lie wholly or, in the case of Louisiana, partly east of the Mississippi River. All were states of the Confederacy and are regarded as Southern by any criteria commonly applied in making this determination. Together they form a

contiguous whole in the Southern and Southeastern portion of the United States. They have much in common geographically, economically, historically, politically, and socially, and, as will be demonstrated, educationally. All may be described either as primarily rural or as having significant areas which may be so described. It is with these areas that may be described as Southern and rural that we are, of course, chiefly concerned.

Personal observations are based on approximately seven years residence in the area designated as a professor and specialist in the sociology of education. This includes five years on the faculty of the University of Virginia, excluding a sixth year on leave to the American Sociological Association, and the past nearly two years on the faculty of the University of Georgia.

Major Factors

Economically, the most distinguishing feature of that part of the United States considered in this paper is its lack of wealth or poverty in comparison with other sections of the country. There are within the nine states selected some notable exceptions to this general condition, but they are not numerous and affect only limited areas. Apart from similar conditions already noted in states immediately adjacent to some of those selected for specific inclusion in this paper, there are but few areas in the rest of the country where general economic conditions approach the low level which prevails throughout most of these nine states. Upper New England and some parts of the West offer some parallels.

Sociologically, the most distinguishing feature of the area here considered is the traditional separation of the white and Negro populations into what amounts to two separate cultures. For the most part, the Negro population, which has

been segregated and discriminated against, is in these nine states in the lowest of the several socio-economic classes as they are usually defined. It should also be pointed out, however, that a higher percentage of the white population in this section of the country than in any other is similarly disadvantaged.

Educationally, these nine states, together with several neighboring ones, are less well off in terms of economic support, overall quality, and holding power than an equal number of states anywhere else in the country.

Interrelatedness of Factors

All the foregoing factors--economic, sociological, and educational--are, of course, related.

Poverty and ignorance are strong terms, and I use them advisedly. Having witnessed at first hand poverty and ignorance in the Orient, I also use these terms in a relative sense. At the same time, evidence suggests that there is in our own country, despite wealth, affluence, and protestations to the contrary, appalling poverty and ignorance of a surprising magnitude.

Poverty and ignorance are each of them at once both a cause and an effect of the other. They occur together, neither one being likely where the other is absent. Introduce one and the other will surely follow. To the extent that either persists, so too will the other.

Confirming what others have said before him, Senator Ernest F. Hollings of South Carolina, a former governor of that state, declared in testimony given less than a month ago before the Senate Select Committee on Nutrition and Human Needs that there is "substantial hunger" in his state and that it was financially impossible for the state to solve the problem. He went on to underscore

the frightening and educationally significant conclusion of recent research which suggests that malnutrition resulting from hunger and poor diet may be responsible for as much as a twenty percent loss in brain cell development.[1] Neither the poverty, of which the hunger is a direct result, nor the hunger itself, which together with the poverty underlying it is readily observable and widely documented, nor the research findings regarding the mental health implications of severe hunger and malnutrition demonstrated by studies of Drs. Richard Barnes and Myron Winick at Cornell and others elsewhere and reported even in such widely read periodicals as Life magazine (January 24, 1969, p. 52) can be effectively denied.

There is a relationship between an economy and a social structure which leave significant numbers of people underemployed or underpaid and consequently underfed and undernourished, poorly housed, and poorly clothed and an education system that is the poorest in the nation. First and most obvious, there is the absence of a sound tax base. To be sure, each of the nine states here considered could do more than it now does and should do more than it now does. Nevertheless, the fact remains that realistic limits of state-generated tax support for public education are more quickly reached in most of these nine states and some few others than in most other states. Perhaps the most telling figures, so far as the actual condition of support is concerned, are those relating to per pupil expenditures. These may be considered for each of the nine states in relation to the average for the United States as a whole, an average brought down by the inclusion of eight of the nine in its determination.

[1] The Atlanta Constitution, February 29, 1969, pp. 1 and 3.

ESTIMATED EXPENDITURE PER PUPIL IN AVERAGE DAILY ATTENDANCE FOR THE UNITED STATES AND THE SAMPLE STATES FOR 1966-1967[2]

United States Average	$684
Alabama	447
Florida	693
Georgia	486
Louisiana	654
Mississippi	389
North Carolina	490
South Carolina	440
Tennessee	467
Virginia	680

Only one state, Florida, exceeded the national average in per pupil expenditure, apart from which only Virginia and Louisiana approached the national average. The other states were estimated to be spending nearly $200 or more less than the national average, with Mississippi spending nearly $300 less. It should be noted, however, that in terms of effort, as determined by the percentage of state income which went for educational purposes, some of these states exceeded in effort some of those for which the per pupil expenditure exceeded the national average. In terms of results, the absolute dollar amounts remain the significant figures.

Another measure of inadequacy is the percentage of illiterates in the populations of these states as compared with the national average.

PERCENT ILLITERATES, 1960[3]

United States	2.4%
Alabama	4.2
Florida	2.6
Georgia	4.5
Louisiana	6.3
Mississippi	4.9
North Carolina	4.0
South Carolina	5.5
Tennessee	3.5
Virginia	3.4

[2]U. S. Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, Office of Education National Center for Educational Statistics, Digest of Educational Statistics, 1967 (Washington: U. S. Government Printing Office , 1967), Table 75, p. 62.
[3]Ibid.,Table Table 14, p. 12.

These figures indicate that the illiteracy rate in every one of the nine states in the sample exceeded that for the United States as a whole at the time of the 1960 Census, and in Louisiana and South Carolina the percent illiterate was more than twice that for the nation as a whole.

Other evidence of inadequacy lies in the following figures.

MEDIAN SCHOOL YEARS COMPLETED BY PERSONS 25 YEARS OLD AND OVER FOR U. S. AND NINE SELECTED STATES[4]

	Male	Female	Total	White	Non-white
U.S.	10.3	10.9	10.6	10.9	8.2
Ala.	8.9	9.3	9.1	10.2	6.5
Fla.	10.6	11.1	10.9	11.6	7.0
Ga.	8.8	9.3	9.0	10.3	6.1
La.	8.6	9.0	8.8	10.5	6.0
Miss.	8.6	9.3	8.9	11.0	6.0
N.C.	8.5	9.5	8.9	9.8	7.0
S.C.	8.4	9.1	8.7	10.3	5.9
Tenn.	8.6	9.0	8.8	9.0	7.5
Va.	9.2	10.5	9.9	10.8	7.2

These figures demonstrate the fact that females, as a group, have a median for school years completed that exceeds that for males, as a group, in the United States. This is true for every state except Utah and Rhode Island, in which the medians for both groups are the same, 10.0 in Rhode Island and an enviable 12.2 in Utah. The figures also demonstrate, even more dramatically, the discrepancy between white and non-white, largely Negro, education in the United States. In the fifty states, there is only one in which the median for non-whites exceeds that for whites, and that is in New Hampshire, where the non-white population in 1960 was less than 3,000, thereby rendering the statistical difference meaningless.

[4]U. S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, United States Census of Population, 1960, United States Summary, General Social and Economic Characteristics (Washington: U. S. Government Printing Office, 1962), Table 115, p. 1-260.

For the nine selected Southern states, where the Negro population is large and significant, there is not a single one in which the Negro median approaches that for the whites. The closest is in Tennessee, where the differential is a year and a half, but the white median for Tennessee is only nine years, the lowest for any of the nine states and approached only by North Carolina, for which the white median is 9.8 years. Only Florida and Mississippi white medians exceed the white median for the United States as a whole. Virginia is very close. None of the Negro or non-white medians for these nine states equals the national non-white median. Tennessee comes closest, followed by Virginia, Florida, and North Carolina The medians for the total populations in these nine states, including both the white and non-white populations, are significantly reduced by inclusion of the Negroes. Even with the Negroes excluded, however, the white medians in only Florida, Mississippi, and Virginia exceed the national median for whites and non-whites combined, and the non-whites in all these nine states are included in the determination of the national median.

The average salary for classroom teachers in these nine states is another indication of the prevailing economic limitation in the region.

ESTIMATED AVERAGE ANNUAL SALARY FOR CLASSROOM TEACHERS IN THE U. S. AND IN SELECT STATES FOR 1966-1967[5]

United States Average	$6,820
Alabama	5,480
Florida	6,530
Georgia	5,895
Louisiana	6,388
Mississippi	4,650
North Carolina	5,604
South Carolina	5,300
Tennessee	5,650
Virginia	6,400

[5]U. S. . . . Digest of Educational Statistics, 1967, Table 54, p. 42.

These figures show that none of the nine Southern states selected pay average salaries to classroom teachers that exceed or even equal the national average, and only Florida, Louisiana, and Virginia pay average salaries approaching the national average. Mississippi lags far behind with an average of only $4,650, the lowest in any of the fifty states and the only one with an average under $5,000. There is no longer the wide salary discrepancy between salaries paid white teachers and those paid Negro teachers which formerly existed in the South. There is, however, commonly regarded to be a significant difference in the preparation of the teachers of the two races, and this is owing to the fact that Southern Negro teachers are largely the product of their own segregated and inferior educational system. Some would argue that the preparation of white Southern teachers is inferior to that of teachers in other parts of the country, and, in some places, Negro teachers can be found whose preparation is superior to that of white teachers in the same area. The explanation for this lies in the fact that teaching is often the only white collar employment apart from the ministry that has been open to Negroes. It has, therefore, attracted many if not most of the well-educated Negroes and is generally regarded as a better job for Negroes than for whites, just as it is a better job for females than for males. Much depends on alternative opportunities.

The so-called Coleman-Campbell report on Equality of Educational Opportunity includes the following summarizing statement about teachers in "the nonmetropolitan South."

> The teachers and principals of pupils in this area differ in several significant ways from their counterparts in other regions of the country. Of great importance is the relatively lower score of teachers on the vocabulary test administered as part of the survey. The teachers are more local in their backgrounds, in the sense that they are more likely than teachers nationally to have spent most of their lives in the local area, graduated from a local high school,

> and attended an in-State college. Principals here are less likely than those nationally to have an advanced degree. Furthermore, they tend to have fewer hours of college credits beyond their highest college degree.
>
> Both principals and teachers are less inclined than those in the country as a whole to favor extra expenditures for compensatory education programs. /Presumably this is not the viewpoint of Negro teachers, but Coleman and Campbell do not make this clear./ The teachers of white pupils are far more likely than the teachers of whites in other regions to prefer white and Anglo-Saxon students. Principals of white pupils are more likely than white principals nationally to favor all or predominantly white faculties for predominantly white, mixed, and predominantly nonwhite enrollments. However, as is true nationally, preference for all or predominantly white teachers is greatest for schools with an all or predominantly white enrollment. Finally, principals of whites here are less likely than principals of whites in other regions to favor ignoring race in the selection of teachers.[6]

While I do not quarrel with these findings so far as they go, I do think some differentiation needs to be made between what is said and what is done. In the South, there are school districts in which the Negroes are in a clear majority. They have traditionally been taught by Negro teachers, and there are large numbers of tenured Negro teachers. Southern white teachers and principals are not discussing a situation in the abstract, as are many of their Northern counterparts. They are discussing a real problem. Where I have lived in the South, it has been far more likely that my children would have Negro teachers, as three of them now have, than it was in those places in which I have lived in the North, where neither my wife nor I nor either of our children who did attend school in the North ever did. I taught in a Northern high school that was ten percent Negro in 1956-1957 which had not one Negro faculty member. There are many schools in the South today which have Negro teachers with fewer than ten percent Negroes enrolled and some with Negro teachers which have no Negroes enrolled. Desegregation and integration mean different things and bring different results in different parts of the country.

[6]James S. Coleman, Ernest Q. Campbell, and others, Equality of Educational Opportunity, U. S. Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, Office of Education National Center for Educational Statistics (Washington: U. S. Government Printing Office, 1966), p. 210. (See Appendix of this paper for a reproduction of the entire section on "The nonmetropolitan South.")

Desegregation-Integration

The foregoing remarks are not meant to suggest that compliance with court desegregation orders or directives has been or is likely to be any more enthusiastic than usually supposed, only that results of compliance has brought about in some places in the South and will continue to bring about through much of the South a much greater degree of integration than has existed in most of the North. To be sure, there has been resistance, and there will continue to be resistance to change in traditional patterns of race relations. Numerous studies, including the monumental work of Gunnar Myrdal, An American Dilemma (Harper and Brothers, 1944), have suggested the inherent inequality of separate educational facilities for the two races, white and Negro, regardless of their purported or even demonstrated equality in any particulars such as per pupil expenditure, teacher-pupil ratio, or the quality of physical plants and facilities. As a matter of fact, the two systems were never equal in any reasonable sense. There was some effort in recent years to improve Negro educational facilities and to provide some where they were nonexistent before, partly, one supposes, in an effort to avoid desegregation and, ultimately, integration by lending some support to the fiction that separate facilities not only existed but that they really were equal in some halfway reasonable sense. Coleman and Campbell state:

> The survey data reveal that many new schools were built for Negroes in the 1950's and 1960's, probably in an attempt to equalize school facilities against the pressures of legal decisions. Negro children in both elementary and secondary schools are much more likely than white children to attend school in a building less than 20 years old and are much less likely than white children to attend school in a building 40 years or more old. Even so, facilities within the Negro schools remain inferior to those in white schools. In addition, the Negro children are in schools that are more crowded. For example, the average Negro secondary school pupil in nonmetropolitan South attends a school with 35 pupils per instruction room compared with 28 pupils per instruction room for white children.[7]

[7] Ibid. It is interesting to note that the existance of relatively new Negro schools in many areas further complicates the problem of desegregation. The buildings cannot be abandoned without severe economic loss, and whites resist attending them because they are stigmatized as Negro schools, often with names like Booker T. Washington or George Washington Carver School.

The 1954 Supreme Court decision which struck down the "separate but equal" doctrine on which the dual education system in the South was established and which declared separate systems for the two races to be inherently unequal and, therefore, unconstitutional has overshadowed virtually all other educational considerations in the nine state area here considered for the past fifteen years. Many feel that is as it should be, that the most pressing educational need of the area is the need for integration. Be that as it may, except as it has stimulated some effort to improve Negro education or to provide it where it did not exist, the general effect has been somewhat disruptive. Time and energy that have gone to efforts to resist or to devise plans which satisfied the letter but not the spirit of the law or, in some cases, even the effort to desegregate honestly and in full compliance with the law have brought about the neglect of other pressing educational matters. Some Southern educators are saying now, "Let's have it done, so that we can get on with other business." Die hards, including some otherwise well-meaning and quite reasonable persons, have yet to give up their resistance. Some have put their efforts into the creation of private schools, which, for the most part, suffer for want of proper financial support. To further complicate the problem, those who have turned to private schools have shown a reluctance to raise taxes to support the public school system.

For some, the beginning of the end came on January 28, 1959, when Lindsay Almond, then governor of Virginia, addressed the Virginia General Assembly. On that date, Almond capitulated, thus giving up Virginia's so-called "Massive Resistance."[8] For others, the candidacy of George Wallace has kept alive some faint and presumably false hope that all was not yet lost. For still others,

[8]Benjamin Muse, Virginia's Massive Resistance (Bloomington, Indiana: Indiana University Press, 1961), pp. 131-139.

hope has been kept alive by the supposition that Strom Thurmond's support for Richard Nixon was based on some kind of understanding concerning desegregation. Recent actions on the part of Secretary Finch of the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, and the appointment of the new United States Commissioner of Education have all but destroyed such hope. I think there is today, as a result, a new spirit of resignation in much of the South. Desegregation, so it seems, will in the end prove inevitable. Ultimately, it is hoped, much good may result because of it. In the meantime, there are bound to be some difficult times ahead. Thus far, we are in no position to assess the results of mass desegregation and resulting integration, because neither has yet occurred. We can generalize only from small samples and speculate as to final results.

As late as 1964, ten years after the Supreme Court ruling, the percentage of Negroes attending school with whites in the nine states sampled were as follows:

PERCENT NEGROES IN SCHOOLS WITH WHITES
1963-1964[9]

Alabama	.43
Florida	9.76
Georgia	2.66
Louisiana	.69
Mississippi	.59
North Carolina	5.15
South Carolina	1.46
Tennessee	16.31
Virginia	11.49

In three states, fewer than 1% of Negro school children were attending school together with white children. In a total of five states, the percentage was less than 5%. In all but two it was less than 10%. In only one was it higher than 15%, and in none was it was high as 17%. By last year, the situation

[9]Harry A. Ploski and Roscoe C. Brown, Jr., The Negro Almanac (New York: Bellweather Publishing Co., Inc., 1967), Table 195b, p. 507 (Information based on Southern Education Reporting Servuce Statistics).

was further changed, as reflected in the following figures.

PERCENT NEGROES IN SCHOOLS WITH WHITES
1967-1968[10]

Alabama	5.4
Florida	18.0
Georgia	9.5
Louisiana	6.7
Mississippi	3.9
North Carolina	16.5
South Carolina	6.4
Tennessee	18.4
Virginia	20.4

Four states were above the 1963-1964 high of 16.31%, three of them over the 17% mark and one of those, Virginia, over 20%. Only Mississippi fell below 5%. At the same time, a total of five of the nine states remained below 10%, leaving much to be desired in the way of compliance. Without court orders, guidelines, and enforcement, it seems unlikely that the percentages will rise very dramatically. There does, however, appear to be good reason to believe that the necessary court orders, guidelines, and enforcement will be forthcoming and that full desegregation will ultimately result.

In many places, owing to broad cultural differences, including social as well as economic differences, Negroes come to school less well prepared than whites and continue to fall further behind as they continue through school. By senior high school, significant numbers often fall as much as three full years behind the average achievement of whites. Compensatory and remedial education programs are sorely needed. Beyond that, if we are to avoid the damaging results of malnutrition, we must see to it that all children are provided an adequate diet. This is an educational as well as an economic problem. Some mothers, both white and

[10]Earle H. West, "Progress Toward Equality of Opportunity in Elementary and Secondary Education, The Journal of Negro Education, XXXVII, 3 (Summer, 1968), Table 1, p. 217 (Source: Southern Education Reporting Service Statistical Summary, Press Release, May 27, 1968, U. S. Department of Health, Education, and Welfare).

Negro, do not know what an adequate diet is. From what we know of human development, it is too late to avoid the most damaging results of nutritional deficiencies when the child has reached nursery school age. Indeed, both pre-natal and post-natal infant care and adequate medical attention at birth could easily prove more important to educational performance than a good school lunch program, however important that may be. To achieve the necessary results, proper attention must be provided all along the line from provisions for expectant mothers, well-baby clinics, day nurseries, Head Start programs, public school nurseries and kindergartens, remedial programs and programs for the handicapped, counseling and guidance services, health education and health care, and other ancillary services to vastly improved regular programs for both Negroes and whites alike. All of this will cost a great deal of money, a large part of which will have to come from the federal government, as it is available from no other source. A reassessment of other federal expenditures for space exploration, the military, and foreign aid would seem to many to be in order. Only if significant amounts of money now spent for other things can be diverted to educational purposes does there seem to be much hope for success in accomplishing the objectives set forth.

THE SPECIAL PROBLEMS OF RURAL AREAS

The statistics considered thus far in this paper for the nine states included were for the states as wholes, with no differentiation made between urban and rural areas. For the most part, these states may be regarded as primarily rural, but they are not wholly rural. The statistics for the state of Florida would, for example, show a much less favorable picture if drawn only from the rural areas of that state, with such places as Miami and Palm Beach removed from consideration.

The problems outlined in this paper are primarily rural. They are Southern problems, and the South is primarily rural. This is not to say that some of these problems do not exist in urban areas or in areas outside the South, but they are most of them most pronounced in the rural South. They are not the problems of industrialization and urbanization which have plagued the North. On the contrary, they are for the most part problems resulting from a lack of industrialization and urbanization, to the extent that urbanization is a necessary accompaniment of industrialization. They are problems resulting from the lack of a sound tax base, from lack of economic and employment opportunities, from the absence of a strong middle class or union labor in support of schools and labor and welfare legislation. They are, in short, problems resulting from a poor, backward, and outdated economy, from the lack of mineral wealth, and of initiative spawned by opportunity or education.

At one time exploited, the Negro has become a liability where he was once an asset. His labor no longer needed in a changing economy, he has in some cases fallen to a condition worse than that experienced by his ancestors in slavery. Posing as he does a potential economic threat to his almost equally poor and ignorant white neighbor, he is feared and segregated and discriminated against in an effort to "keep him in his place." The poorer the area, the greater the fear and discrimination. Mississippi is easily the poorest of the nine states selected and is generally regarded as the one in which the Negro is most badly treated, and, while other factors may play a part, the economic factor is easily the most significant. Improved education for the Negro increases the threat. Fair employment practices make good the threat. Where there is not enough for all, some must go without, and competition is keen.

CONCLUSION

Let me conclude this paper by suggesting some ways in which some of the problems outlined in this paper might be alleviated.

First, the problem of segregation must be squarely faced. If it is to be abolished, it ought to be done as quickly as is reasonably possible and consistent with proven methods for bringing it about. Altogether too much effort has been wasted in resistance and delay. It is time to get on with it, thereby releasing those energies now devoted in one way or another to this problem to other important considerations.

If general conditions in the South are to be improved, massive federal aid must be brought to bear. The South has not the financial resources necessary to do the job alone. With integration settled and removed as a threat, the way will be open for the South to accept federal aid without fear of its being used as leverage to bring about that which will already have been accomplished.

There is a need for general educational improvement and upgrading all along the line. Most of the federal aid should go for this purpose.

There is a need for industry, not industry which will exploit non-unionized Southern labor, both Negro and white, and which will fill all its skilled, technical, managerial, and executive positions with non-Southerners, as has so often been the case in the past, but industry which will become a part of the South and serve the interests of that region and its people. Tax inducements and other government subsidies may be necessary to bring this about, but the resulting gain which will ultimately result in both individual and corporate taxes should more than compensate for the expenditure.

To the extent possible, industry in the South ought to be decentralized so as to bring a level of employment and prosperity to all sections, not just a few. Again, government tax inducements will be necessary, but there are many precedents for these. To the extent possible, industries should be encouraged which could draw upon whatever resources and raw materials could be found or developed in an area, and research should be directed toward this end.

Technical and other education programs should be developed at all levels so as to provide individuals with the skills necessary to avail themselves of the new job opportunities.

Not all efforts should go into industry either. In an area that is primarily rural and agrarian, research should be undertaken with a view toward revitalizing Southern agriculture. Where tobacco and cotton have played out and given way to tree farming and the raising of beef cattle, the amount of labor required has been significantly reduced. Employment being a primary consideration, other types of agricultural employment need to be considered.

What is required, in short, is a massive effort to break that vicious circle in which ignorance begats poverty and poverty begats ignorance again and again ad infinitum, and to couple in their place a revitalized economy, a comprehensive and high quality educational system, and a new social order in which all function for the good of the whole. This will not be easy and cannot be accomplished soon, but it is the goal toward which the South must strive if it is to rise from the poverty and ignorance which have traditionally plagued it.

APPENDIX

Note: Because of its special relevance to the topic of this paper, the whole of Section 2.7, "The nonmetropolitan South," of the Coleman-Campbell Report on Equality of Educational Opportunity is reproduced in this appendix for limited circulation to workshop participants. The full reference and relevant text follow.

James S. Coleman, Ernest Q. Campbell, and others, Equality of Educational Opportunity, Washington, D. C., U. S. Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, Office of Education, National Center for Educational Statistics, U. S. Government Printing Office, OE-38001, Section 2.7, pages 209-212.

2.7 The nonmetropolitan South

2.71 Schools in the nonmetropolitan South compared to the Nation

In several important respects, the schools attended by children of all races in the nonmetropolitan South put children in this area at a disadvantage relative to children in other parts of the country.

Pupils here attend schools that are no more crowded but are somewhat older than schools in the country as a whole. However, Negroes are more likely than Negroes nationally to have buildings constructed after World War II, while whites are less likely than whites nationally to have newer buildings.

At the secondary level, pupils in the nonmetropolitan South attend schools that on the average have far fewer facilities than schools in the Nation as a whole. Those in the Southwest have considerably more facilities than those in the South proper. In the South proper, secondary pupils have fewer shop and science laboratory facilities and space, foreign language laboratories, health rooms, and single-purpose gymnasiums and auditoriums. However, at the elementary level, white children have greater access than whites in the Nation to schools with kitchens for preparing hot lunches and to schools with single-purpose cafeterias, auditoriums, and gymnasiums. One reason for this is probably the greater prevalence of combination elementary and secondary schools (grades 1-12) in this area. Although public libraries of at least 5,000 books in walking distance of the school are less available than nationally, centralized school libraries are about as available. Within the school libraries, there are fewer volumes than is true nationally and at the secondary level the schools are less likely to have one or more full-time librarian. Free textbooks are less available in the nonmetropolitan South proper, but more available in the nonmetropolitan Southwest.

Children in the nonmetropolitan South are much less likely than children in other parts of the country to have the services of a wide variety of special teachers and other staff. This relationship is unusually strong and applies virtually without exception to the availability of such staff and services as school nurses, reading teachers, special classes for low IQ or mentally retarded pupils, kindergarten teachers, art teachers, music teachers, remedial math classes, classes for pupils with speech impairments, etc.

Furthermore, secondary students here have more restricted curriculum choices. Agriculture is the only curriculum offering that students here have greater access to on the average.

Students here, compared with the national average, attend schools of smaller average size; they have fewer instructional rooms per building and fewer students. The fact that schools are of smaller size helps explain why complete school facilities and programs are more difficult to secure here than nationally. In the nonmetropolitan South proper, students at both elementary and secondary levels are less likely to attend schools accredited by State or regional agencies. In the nonmetropolitan Southwest, students are more exposed to State-accredited schools, but regionally accredited schools are more available at the elementary level only.

Standardized intelligence tests, achievement tests, and interest inventories are about equally available in this region and in the Nation. Free school lunches and free milk are somewhat more available than elsewhere. Fewer extracurricular activities are available in secondary schools than in other regions, with the exception of some athletic programs.

The teachers and principals of pupils in this area differ in several ways from their counterparts in other regions of the country. Of great importance is the relatively lower score of teachers on the vocabulary test administered as part of this survey. The teachers are more local in their backgrounds, in the sense that they are more likely than teachers nationally to have spent lost of their lives in the local area, graduated from a local high school, and attended an in-State college. Principals here are less likely than nationally to have an advanced degree. Furthermore, they tend to have fewer hours of college credits beyond their highest college degree.

Both principals and teachers are less inclined than those in the country as a whole to favor extra expenditures for compensatory education programs. The teachers of white pupils are far more likely than the teachers of whites in other regions to prefer white and Anglo-Saxon students. Principals of white pupils are more likely than white principals nationally to favor all or predominantly white faculties for predominantly white, mixed, and predominantly nonwhite enrollments. However, as is true nationally, preference for all or predominantly white teachers is greatest for schools with an all or predominantly white enrollment. Finally, principals of whites here are less likely than principals of whites in other regions to favor ignoring race in the selection of teachers.

Negro pupils in the nonmetropolitan South proper are less likely than those in the nation to have white classmates, while white pupils are more likely to have white classmates than nationally. In the nonmetropolitan Southwest, whites are less likely to attend school with whites, and more likely to attend school with Mexican-Americans, than is true in other regions.

Another major way in which student environment differs from the national norm is that pupils in schools attended by both whites and Negroes come from somewhat poorer homes than those in the country as a whole. Mothers tend to have less education, there are fewer material possessions in the home (such as telephones and vacuum cleaners), and there are fewer educational items in the home (daily newspapers, encyclopedias, and books).

2.72 Schools attended by Negroes in the nonmetropolitan South

Negro children in the nonmetropolitan South in many ways have unequal educational opportunities compared with white children. The Negro children are more likely than whites to attend schools with fewer facilities, teachers of lower verbal

skills, and classmates from economically deprived homes. Partly as a consequence of these differences, Negro children are less likely than white children to attend schools that are accredited by regional and State agencies.

The survey data reveal that many new schools were built for Negroes in the 1950's and 1960's, probably in an attempt to equalize school facilities against the pressures of legal decisions. Negro children in both elementary and secondary schools are much more likely than white children to attend school in a building less than 20 years old and are much less likely than white children to attend school in a building 40 years or more old. Even so, facilities within the Negro schools remain inferior to those in the white schools. In addition, the Negro children are in schools that are more crowded. For example, the average Negro secondary school pupil in nonmetropolitan South attends a school with 35 pupils per instruction room compared with 29 pupils per instruction room for white children.

Not only are school facilities less complete for school children in the nonmetropolitan South than in the country as a whole, but Negro children have fewer facilities within their schools than white children have. This finding is especially meaningful since Negro schools tend to be larger than white schools and thus should provide more chances for the efficient utilization of school facilities. Negroes are less likely than whites to have a variety of school facilities, from single purpose auditoriums to science laboratories. For example, 38 percent of the Negro but 63 percent of the white, secondary students attend schools with single-purpose gymnasiums, and 63 percent of the Negro, but 83 percent of the white, secondary students attend schools with space and equipment available for laboratory work in physics. Negro children have access to fewer library volumes than whites and fewer volumes per pupil. In the South, Negroes are more likely to have textbook shortages in their schools as well.

A question closely related to facilities is the availability of special staff and special programs for students. Although there are dramatic differences in the availability of such services for pupils in these areas compared to the Nation, most of the differences are as great for whites as for Negroes. However, Negroes are at a disadvantage in the differential enforcement of compulsory school-attendance law. Negro children are more likely than white children to have a principal reporting no such law and less likely to have principals reporting well-enforced laws. Also, while special teachers are about equally available to both races, curricular choices are not. Negro secondary pupils are less likely than white pupils to be in schools offering college preparatory, commercial, general, vocational, and agriculture curriculums.

Inequalities by race appear in other school services as well. There is a slight tendency for Negroes to be more likely than whites to be in schools with no free lunch or free milk program. This is especially relevant because of the greater need of Negro children on the average for these services. Negroes, especially at the elementary level, are more likely than whites to be in schools not giving standardized intelligence and achievement tests. However, their schools tend to have more extracurricular activities than do schools attended by whites. This especially includes student government, chorus, drama, and social dances, although some of the more expensive types of activities (such as school newspapers and school annuals or yearbooks) are more available to white than Negro children.

The teachers and principals of Negro and white pupils in the nonmetropolitan South are alike in many ways but differ in some critical respects. The vocabulary test administered to teachers as part of the survey highlights one such difference. The teachers of Negroes not only score below the national average, but they score well below the average for whites within the region. Negro and white children are

more likely here than in the Nation to have principals and teachers of their own race. At the elementary level in the non-metropolitan South proper, 86 percent of the Negro children, but only 2 percent of the white children, have a Negro principal, while 91 percent of the white children, but only 7 percent of the Negro children, have a white principal. Furthermore, the average Negro elementary pupil here is in a school where 90 percent of the teachers are Negro and 8 percent are white. The average white elementary pupil here is in a school where 96 percent of the teachers are white and 2 percent are Negro.

The racial isolation of pupils in public schools in the nonmetropolitan South is more severe than in the country as a whole. Ten percent of the classmates of average Negro elementary school pupils are white, and the secondary students are in only a slightly less segregated setting. Whites are similarly isolated; 89 percent of the classmates of white elementary pupils and 93 percent of the classmates of white secondaty pupils are white. The results reflect, of course, the historical pattern of racially segregated schools. Very little of the racial isolation can be explained by the uneven distribution of the races in the area (after standardization forcounty of residence, 91 percent instead of 93 percent of the classmates of white secondary students are white, while the average Negro secondary school student is in a school where only 11 percent of his classmates are white).

Negroes in the nonmetropolitan South are more likely than whites to attend schools with children from deprived homes. Negroes here are less exposed than whites to classmates who have mothers with at least a high school education, to be living with their real mother and father, and to have a variety of material and educational possessions in the home (telephone, automobile, encyclopedia, daily newspapers, etc.). Furthermore, Negro children have classmates that come from homes where there are not only fewer resources but also more children. In the nonmetropolitan South proper, 75 percent of the classmates of the average Negro elementary school child and 63 percent of the classmates of the average white elementary school child come from a home with three or more children in the family.

But although Negroes here attend school with students from homes where there are few tangible resources for supporting education, they are about equal to whites in the proportion of classmates from homes that offer intangible supports for education, for example, about half of the classmates of both white and Negro children report almost daily discussions about school with their parents, and in both instances about 65 percent of the classmates report that their mothers want them to go to college.

A very important aspect of school environment is the level of achievement of classmates and the attitudes and values of fellow pupils toward learning and toward succeeding. Negroes, compared with whites, attend schools where the tested achievement level among pupils is lower, where ability groups or tracks are more frequently used, a higher proportion of pupils are in the lowest track, and there are more discipline problems reported by the principal. Moreover, enrollment in courses and curriculums leading to college is less common, fewer pupils have ever communicated with a college official about going to his college, and principals report lower rates of college attendance. Also, even more than in other parts of the country, Negroes are more exposed than whites to classmates who feel little control over their environment. Thirty percent of the classmates of Negroes compared to only 10 percent of the classmates of whites agree with the statement "Good luck is more important than hard work for success."

These indicators of an environment that does not support learning in schools attended by Negroes must be weighed against other facts. Negroes are more exposed to pupils who report that they want to be one of the best students in their class and that their teachers expect them to be. Also, Negroes here are at least as likely as whites to have classmates who report not having stayed away from school voluntarily, who spend considerable time on homework, and who have a high academic self-conception or self-confidence.